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VARIOUS SERMONS,  
(1837-1853)

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by

Edward Bouverie Pusey

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PATIENCE AND CONFIDENCE

THE

STRENGTH OF THE CHURCH.

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A SERMON

PREACHED

ON THE FIFTH OF NOVEMBER,

BEFORE

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

AT S. MARY'S,

And published at the wish of many of its Members.

BY THE

REV. E. B. PUSEY, D.D.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH,  
AND LATE FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE.

In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength. *Isaiah xxx. 15.*

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TO THE  
REV. JOHN KEBLE, M.A.  
PROFESSOR OF POETRY, AND LATE FELLOW OF ORIEL,  
WHO IN YEARS PAST  
UNCONSCIOUSLY IMPLANTED A TRUTH  
WHICH WAS AFTERWARDS TO TAKE ROOT,  
HIMSELF THE DUTIFUL DISCIPLE  
OF ITS ANTIENT GUARDIAN AND FAITHFUL WITNESS  
IN WORD AND ACTION  
THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,  
THIS SERMON  
IS INSCRIBED WITH EVERY FEELING  
OF RESPECTFUL AND AFFECTIONATE GRATITUDE  
FOR THIS AND MANY OTHER BENEFITS.



## PREFACE.

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NON-RESISTANCE and passive obedience, in the sense to which they are generally limited, are but two sides of the same doctrine, (the former speaking of it negatively, as not opposing force to force, the latter positively, as taking patiently whatever may be laid upon one,) and, together, are only a particular application of a general principle. In religion, it is faith; under misfortune, it is resignation; under trial, it is patient waiting for the end; amid provocation, it is gentleness; amid affronts, meekness; amid injuries, it is endurance; towards enemies, non-requital; towards railing, it is "not answering again;" to parents, it is filial obedience; to superiors, respect; to authorities unquestioning submission; towards Civil Government, it is obedience upon principle, not only when it costs nothing, (as obedience to *it* ordinarily does not, and so can hardly be called the fulfilment of a duty,) but when it costs something.

On this, (as on almost every other subject of morals,) our standard in this superficial age is for the most part lax and low; not simply (as of course it ever must be) in the selfish and profane, but in the current notions of the day. Maxims are received as indisputable, which betray a mixture of Heathenism with Christianity, and which proceed upon no principle even of heathen morality. As a warning against this, it has been wished, in the fol-

lowing Sermon, to point out how deeply the principle itself lies in Holy Scripture, how largely it extends, how it was acted upon by the Church, in her healthy state, and how God has uniformly blessed those who acted upon it, and has chastised those who abandoned it. But though the circumstances of the day required it to be illustrated by the events, for which that day is so memorable, and that the lesson of those events should be inculcated, it was not intended to consider the doctrine prominently in its political bearings, much less to confine it to what politicians of these days would consider as such. For the temptations to offend against this law, in the extreme degree of rebellion, are happily very rare, while yet the principle itself may be broken very frequently. Over-eagerness to have what is really wrong redressed, when we are the sufferers; taking matters into men's own hands; *combinations* to use a moral compulsion upon Governors to abrogate what is really oppressive;—in short, a scheming, contriving activity of any sort, is, in itself, opposed to this principle, and likely to tend, more or less, to its overt breach. It is in the strong conviction that the enemies of the Church have no power to hurt her, any more than the lions whose mouths God had shut, while Daniel was in their den, to hurt His Prophet, but that those over-anxious for her, or who would help her by human contrivances, may injure her very seriously, that the warnings held out by God's dealings in such cases have been insisted on.

With regard to the special instance of the English revolution of 1688, the question is now happily one of practical importance, only, as relates to men's feelings and principles, not to any political mode of acting. We are now enabled by the distance of time, and God's intervening mercies, to look at that action in its real character, without dread of involving ourselves in practical consequences



which we would gladly avoid. Now, it were absurd or hypocrisy to suppose that the title of the present family to the Crown is in the least affected by the character of the Act of 1688. It were to confuse the abstract question of the original right of succession with the Christian duty of submission and allegiance. Our Lord bade the Pharisees pay tribute to the Cæsar, and not to prevaricate about the origin of their right. Further, the extinction of the unhappy line which were then in possession of the throne;—the circumstance, that the family now placed upon it, were not the immediate successors of that family, but came in in a more orderly way;—their long undisputed possession of it;—happily can leave no doubt in any mind that they are to be *acknowledged*, as well as obeyed, as “the powers that be.” If, in ordinary cases, possession for a long period constitutes right, much more, where God’s law requires men to submit quietly to “the powers that be,” without defining how they came to be such. It was not in a legitimate way that the Emperors, whom S. Paul and S. Peter commanded men to obey, came to the throne, nor had they even prescription to plead; yet, as far as the subjects were concerned, “the powers that be were ordained of God.” No one again can doubt that our early wars with France were wrong, on the ground that they were ambitious, covetous wars, independently of the question as to our title to the crown disputed; they were aggressions against “the powers that be:” our Sovereigns have admitted the principle by relinquishing the title; nor could any one doubt that the French were right in obeying their then king, and opposing ours. The contrary would be looked on as absurd. As absurd would it be, to think that the king of Sardinia has any Christian title to be Sovereign of this kingdom, though in the natural order of things, the crown would have descended upon him. It is idle, too, to argue, that but for the revolution of

1688, the present family would never have been placed upon the throne. Who knows it, or has any right to affirm it? All we know, is, that it would not have been there placed, *in the way in which it was*. But who can say that it might not have been raised upon it in some other way, as, indeed, that act had no apparent connection with it? The principle, which the elevation of the present family involves, is not the right of subjects to depose their Sovereign, but the right of the existing authority to pass over the individual next in succession, as disqualified, as a parent may disinherit his son. This principle often exercised would indeed make a monarchy almost elective, but it is a civil question, and has no connection with the duties of subjects. This sort of arguing about what *might* have been the consequence of a different line of action 150 years ago, is worse than idle; it is Atheistic; for it implies that every thing else must have taken the same course which it since has, i. e. that fate, not God's Providence, governs the world. As for those who, having been for a long period employed in sowing disloyalty, have now discovered that the doctrine of Non-resistance is disloyal, while one rejoices that they can in any way propagate loyalty, (though it be "out of envy and strife,") it were enough to answer with the Christians against whom the like charge was made: "We are defamed as disloyal to the Emperor;—yet they, who had sworn 'by the genii of the Cæsars,' who had offered victims and vows for their welfare, who had often condemned the Christians, have been found their enemies. The Christian is the enemy of no one, much less of the Emperor." (Tertull. ad Scap. init.) On the principles of Non-resistance, whence is resistance or disturbance to arise? It is, truly, the story of "the wolf and the lamb."

But to those of more earnest mind, who recognise the Providence of God, and believe that the tracks of past



events are not blotted out by mere length of time, but that as the Heathen Oracle said,

ἽΟρκου παῖς ἐστὶν ἀνώνυμος, οὐδ' ἔπι χεῖρες,  
 Οὐδὲ πόδες· κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰσόκε πᾶσαν  
 Συμμάρψας ὀλέσει γενεήν, καὶ οἶκον ἅπαντα.  
 Ἰ Ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων.

it is, as is here urged, of practical moment, to reconsider our own views of the deeds of our fathers, to see, if the oath of allegiance were broken, that we bring not its terrible progeny upon our race and name, by persisting in "allowing the deeds of our fathers;" not as wishing to undo evil by evil towards man, but to efface it by repentance towards God: so shall that which naturally could not be effaced, but must work on its own fearful consequences, be effaced by His loving-kindness whose it is to "blot out transgressions." What has been done nationally amiss must be by the nation repented of; and if this is not in our power, at least we may repent of what any of us have done individually by "calling evil, good," and increase our peaceable submission and obedience to that Sovereign whom God has now placed over us, not as the instrument of man's will, but as "ordained of God." The question, then, is to be looked upon not as a theory, but as an earnest practical principle, involving practical consequences in submission to God and man.

And if any be prejudiced against the doctrine, because it is opposed to the current notions of the day, let him consider how much besides of valuable truth will, in a superficial age, share the same fate. It is discarded, not because it has been disproved, but because it is "out of date," just as if eternal truth were a matter of Chronology; or as if any changes introduced by men could annul the ordinance of God. Dean Sherlock said, shortly

before 1688, "the principles of rebellion are openly professed and taught, and the doctrine of Non-resistance and Passive Obedience *not confuted, but laughed out of countenance.*" (Dedication to "Case of resistance to the supreme powers stated and resolved according to the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures," 1684.) But they who think a duty laid down in Holy Scripture worthy their serious thought, will do well (apart from the bias of vulgar opinion, or the fear of possible consequences) to review in their own consciences, how notions which they have adopted, perhaps, because they are generally received, can consist with the plain meaning of the Word of God.

This may be facilitated by the study of Dean Sherlock's book; who, for "the doctrine and practice of the Primitive Christians," refers to "that admirable discourse of Archbishop Ussher, about the power of the Prince and the obedience of the subject, which will not cost much money, nor take up much time to read." (Ib. pp. 2, 3.) Philosophers and politicians of the present day may be surprised to find, that Bp. Berkeley maintains the same doctrine, "on the principles of reason common to all mankind<sup>a</sup>."

<sup>a</sup> Abp. Ussher's work is entitled "The power communicated by God to the Prince, and the obedience required of the subject, briefly laid down, and confirmed out of the Holy Scriptures, the testimony of the primitive Church, the dictates of right reason, and the opinion of the wisest among heathen writers." It was written at the command of King Charles I, lost, for the time, "through the negligence or unfaithfulness" of the publisher, and finally published with a preface by Bp. Sanderson, in the reign of King Charles II. Bp. Berkeley's work is the substance of three sermons, preached at the College Chapel; his position is, "that there is an absolute unlimited non-resistance or passive obedience due to the supreme civil power wherever placed in any nation."

The statements above made are altogether the same as those formally received by the Church in the Convocation of 1603—1610, in which they were “passed with one consent.” (See Bp. Overall’s Convocation-Book, p. 92.) The 28th Canon runs thus :

“If any man therefore shall affirm, either *that the subjects, when they shake off the yoke of their obedience to their Sovereigns*, and set up a form of government among themselves, after their own humours, do not therein very wickedly ; or that it is lawful for any bordering kings, through ambition and malice, to invade their neighbours ; or that *the Providence and goodness of God, in using of rebellions and oppressions to execute His justice against any king or country*, doth mitigate or qualify the offences of any such rebels or oppressing kings ; or *that, when any such new forms of government, begun by rebellion, are after thoroughly settled, the authority in them is not of God* ; or that any who live within the territories of such new governments, are not bound to be subject to God’s authority, which is there executed, but may rebel against the same ; or that the Jews, either in Egypt or Babylon, might lawfully, for any cause, have taken arms against any of those kings, or have offered any violence to their persons ; he doth greatly erre.”

The Convocation-Book itself is valuable also, as clearly and definitely tracing out the origin of Government from the Patriarchal form, instead of assuming any original social compact with the people. For the notion of the

social compact presupposes that the source of power came from below, whereas it is plain in Holy Scripture that it was derived from above. Scripture knows but of two sources of power; 1. lawful, whereby the parental authority of the head of the family was gradually extended with the extension of the family, and so became patriarchal, which was in a sense regal; 2. unlawful, that of conquest, as Nimrod. But of any state of things wherein the people had power in their own hands, to give it to whom they would, and upon what conditions they would, it knows not. "If," says Bp. Sanderson, "we will but follow the clue of the Sacred History in the four first chapters of Genesis, it will fairly lead us out of these labyrinths," [viz. whether Government or Property were first in order of time, and whether Government were agreed upon to secure Property, or Property was assigned by Law and Government; in a word, whether Government came from above or below, was voluntarily adopted, or was the original constitution of things, and part of the primary ordinance of God.] "It is certain, that as soon as Adam was created, God gave to him as an universal monarch, not only dominion over all his fellow-creatures that were upon the face of the earth, but the government also of all the inferior world, and of all the men that after should be born into the world so long as he lived; so as whatsoever property any other persons afterwards had or could have in any thing in any part of the world, (as Cain and Abel, 'tis well known, had their properties in several, and distinct either from other,) they held it all of him, and had it originally by his gift or assignment either immediately or mediately. Whence we may also conclude, both *in hypothesi*, that Adam's government was before Cain's property; and *in thesi*, that undoubtedly government was before property. And we have great reason to believe that after the flood



the sole government was at first in Noah, and whatsoever either property in any thing they possessed in several, or share in the government over any part of the world afterward any of his sons had, they had it by his sole allotment and authority, and transmitted the same to their posterity merely upon that account; without awaiting the election or consent of, or entering into any articles or capitulations with, the people that were to be governed by them. Those words in Gen. x. 32. seem to import as much, “These are the families of the sons of Noah in their generations after their nations: and by them were the nations divided in the earth after the flood.” And so this supposed pact or contract, which maketh such a noise in the world, proveth to be but a squib, powder without shot, that giveth a crack, but vanisheth into air, and doth no execution.” Preface, §. 18.

In like manner, the Church in Convocation, laid as the basis of their statement the same historical view.

#### Cap. 2.

“To him that shall duly read the Scripture, it will be plain and evident, that the Son of God having created our first parents, and proposing to multiply their seed into many generations, for the replenishing of the world with their posterity, did give to Adam for his time, and to the rest of the patriarchs, and chief fathers successively before the flood, authority, power, and dominion over their children, and offspring, to rule and govern them; ordaining by the very law of nature, that their said children and offspring (begotten and brought up by them) should fear, reverence, honour, and obey them. Which power and authority before the flood, resting in the patriarchs, and in the chief fathers, because it had a very large extent, not only for the education of their said children and offspring, whilst they were young; but likewise for the

ordering, ruling, and governing of them afterwards, when they came to man's estate; and for that also it had no superior authority, or power over, or above it on earth, appearing in the Scriptures, although it be called either patriarchal, regal, or imperial, and that we only term it *potestas patria*: yet, being well considered, how far it did reach, we may truly say, that it was in a sort *potestas regia*; as now in a right and true construction, *potestas regia* may justly be called *potestas patria*." And to this it subjoined the following Canon.

"If any man shall therefore affirm, that men at the first, without all good education, or civility, ran up and down in woods and fields as wild creatures, resting themselves in caves, and dens, and acknowledging no superiority one over another, until they were taught by experience the necessity of government; and that thereupon they chose some among themselves to order and rule the rest, giving them power and authority so to do; and that consequently all civil power, jurisdiction, and authority, was first derived from the people and disordered multitude; or either is originally still in them, or else is deduced by their consent naturally from them; and is not God's ordinance originally descending from Him, and depending upon Him; he doth greatly erre." (Can. 2.)

All the theories of the origin of Government, however they may vary in the details of their application, or even though they urge results opposed to what might naturally or legitimately be inferred from their principles, may be referred to these two; that which supposes a state of nature, (as it is called,) in which men, no ways connected with each other, did for mutual security establish a civil government, abridging their own natural rights, and setting kings over them on certain conditions,—the system of a "social

compact;" the other, that which supposes men always to have existed in society, as being derived from a common origin, and the authority of the governor to have been derived from that, originally given to the head of the family by God, (as Abel was naturally to have been subject to Cain, Gen. iv. 7.) the " Patriarchal system." And so (as Bp. Sanderson above observed) all turns on this, whether " property be supposed antecedent to government," i. e. whether men be supposed in a state of having something of their own, (whether actual property, or with Hobbes " a right of every man to every thing,") and thence to have formed governments for themselves, and so the original of government be with the people, or whether " government be antecedent to property," i. e. established by God in the first instance, and derived from Him. The former of these (and so the so-called " social compact") is obviously an unbelieving theory, (even if any who adopted it should not have been unbelievers; Hooker, although he employs some of its language as having been derived from the Roman law, manifestly does not adopt the theory itself,) and is that of Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Gibbon, Montesquieu, and other politicians; the other is that of the Church; and it is remarkable, that the latter, the religious view, though connected with the high doctrine of Non-resistance, found no acceptance with King James I, who wished to assist the insurgent Netherlands; the other, although virtually subverting authority, was a favourite with the court of King Charles II, so that " an original power by nature in the people was the only theme then in fashion:" (Sir R. Filmer, *Obs. on Forms of Government*, p. 18.) so little do states or statesmen often know of the principles whence their strength is derived! The unbelieving character of the received theory, and wherein this unbelieving character

consisted, is again pointed out by Bp. Sanderson. “ True it is, that a mere rationalist, (i. e. in plain English, *an Atheist of the late edition,*) who giveth more faith to such heathen philosophy as affirmeth the world to have been ab æterno; than to divine revelation, which assureth us it had a beginning, (and some of the great champions of the opinion we now speak of, have given cause enough of suspicion that they are little better,) such a one, I say, cannot possibly get out of the circle,” [since on any natural principles, property presupposed government, and government property,] “ but to us who believe the Scriptures and acknowledge a creation, the solution of both is easy.”

In like manner Bp. Horsley :

“ Mankind from the beginning never existed otherwise than in society and under government. Whence follows this important consequence, that to build the authority of princes, or of the chief magistrate under whatever denomination, upon any compact or agreement between the individuals of a multitude living previously in a state of nature, is in truth to build a reality upon a fiction.” Serm. xlv. preached before the House of Lords, on the anniversary of the Martyrdom of King Charles I.



Some sentences are inserted in the Sermon now, which could not be introduced into the delivery, for fear of interfering with a service, which was to follow.



EXOD. xiv. 13.

*Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord,  
which He will shew to you to-day.*

THE history of the Old Testament is the Sun of all other history, Christian or profane. In it, the cloud which veils the mercy-seat, as well as the pathways of Divine Providence, is withdrawn, and the light from behind the cloud flashes through, the token of the Divine presence to those who can behold it, light to His people, although to the Egyptians darkness. So marked, indeed, is the analogy of the kingdoms of unseen and revealed Providence, that men must acknowledge it one way or the other; unless they trace it where it is less distinct, they will lose sight of it where it is most clear; unless they explain what is less known by what is declared, they will explain away what is declared by what is obscure; unless they make use of the light given them where they might see, it will be withdrawn from them where they think they see. Twilight, in that it has a portion of light, has a correspondence with day-break; and whoso, when the light is come, will not explain the indistinct outlines which he saw, "men as trees, walking," by the distincter and revealed forms he now beholds, must go on to walk in the darkness which he loves rather than light. They who interpret not what

men call nature by the Bible, will bring down the Bible to the standard of nature.

This has been done of old times. This very history of the passage of the Red sea, Josephus, it has been wisely noticed, "in his worst spirit of compromise," compared to an escape of Alexander; and the modern historian of the Jews, who, with a righteous indignation, censured Josephus, was himself much to be blamed for the like parallels; and what was in his case rightly condemned, was, in another form, circulated as religious teaching<sup>a</sup>. Whoso, again, will not recognise the finger of God in His providential cures, will not see it in His miraculous; they who resolve every thing into secondary or physical causes in the one case, and will not see Him who is the Cause of all causes, and worketh by all those things, whose operation meets our senses, will lose all sense for discerning His hand, where Scripture plainly declares it. When men had explained away, as the *mere* effects of imagination, cures, in modern times, out of the wonted

<sup>a</sup> These cases are adduced, not to censure the individuals;—the error was not theirs only, it is that of their age;—but to illustrate the exceeding liability to such error, whenever the attempt is made to interest people in the Bible, on the current principles of ordinary life, to make the characters of the Bible interesting any how to persons of any stamp. The Society alluded to corrected its work, yet it is instructive, that a Society in high repute should have fallen into the error, which had recently been so strongly condemned. It too was attempting to keep pace with the times, and to conciliate half-believers.

order of God's Providence, which, though no confirmation of a religious system, seem to have been personal rewards to strong personal faith, they were ready to apply the same principle to many of the miracles of the Gospel; when they had altogether ceased to see in any derangement of the faculties, a power permitted to evil spirits, they were prepared and did, as soon as it was suggested, deny it in the dæmoniacs of the New Testament<sup>b</sup>. And so, again, one may see the evil of a class

<sup>b</sup> A controversy on this subject, which led to the disbelief of the actual "possessions" in the New Testament, was confessedly the commencement of German rationalism. It is not meant, by the above, to assert positively that *all* insanity is the effort of dæmoniacal agency; (Scripture distinguishes sometimes *σεληνιαζόμενοι* from *δαιμονιζόμενοι*;) but only to protest against the arbitrary limitation of that agency to the Gospel period. Church history directly proves its continuance beyond that period; thoughtful and reverent observation will leave no doubt, that much termed insanity (as in the case of many suicides, but also in others) is in fact Satanic re-possession of the house which had been "swept and garnished." Our popular and poetic language, in its use of the word "possest," "what possesses him?" bears testimony to the former belief, and even, in our present use, shews that we acknowledge a phænomenon higher than we can explain. We speak thus of persons (to say the least) as not being under their own control, being driven about by some agency within them, impelled to acts, which, if they were their own masters, they would not do. Other languages express this even more plainly; and it is expressed more or less forcibly in all modern languages, e. g. *Fr.* possédé; *Ital.* ossesso, invasato; *Span. Port.* possesso; *Germ.* besitzen, besitzung, besessener; and so in others. Popular language is more philosophical and truer than scientific.

of illustration, derived from the Arminian school, whereby all sorts of heathen sayings are brought into parallel with Gospel teaching ; so soon as they ceased to be regarded as the seeds of truth which the Divine Word had scattered among the Heathen, (as way-marks and finger-posts, looking on to something to come, and requiring correction and developement,) and were viewed as something independent and substantial, they were used as interpreters, or critics, or rivals, of Gospel truth. The words of inspiration again are glowing language, such as in human compositions is poetry ; but whoso looked upon the Hebrew prophets as poets, forgot that they were the awful messengers of the Most High ; as they who measured by earthly principles the actions of God's instruments, lost sight Whose they were, and Whom they served ; he who illustrated the law given by Moses, upon the principles of ordinary legislation<sup>c</sup>, undermined in his Church and people the belief that it was divine. Apologists, accordingly, in every department, have substituted a human counterfeit for the divine reality, by illustrations, by defending (as they deemed) divine truths on human principles, by explaining "hard sayings" through the commonplaces of ordi-

<sup>c</sup> J. D. Michaelis on the Laws of Moses ; a book which uniformly exhibits things on the lowest and most commonplace side, setting out on the assumption, that Moses was an ordinary legislator.



nary morality, the justice of God by the expediency of men : and on this ground, there has (as a fact) been no more fruitful source of heresy or unbelief, than defences of the faith.

In history, morals, poetry, legislation, philosophy, language, physics, religion,—Heaven and Earth, a body of clay and a spirit breathed into its nostrils by the life-giving Spirit, stand over against each other, and whoso lifteth not up the earthly to the heavenly, will bring down the heavenly to the earthly. “Homer,” says even a heathen<sup>d</sup>, “transferred human things to the gods; would he had rather things divine to man!” If the body be not spiritualized, the soul will be carnalized.

The light then of all history is God’s guidance, dim indeed often, and overlaid by the intricacy of human policy and craftiness, yet still visible to those who in the detail of the workmanship forget not the Maker, nor allow themselves by the study of the visible creature to be held down from beholding the Invisible. Even in Heathen empires He declares by His prophets, that “*He* changeth the times and seasons : *He* removeth kings, and setteth up kings<sup>e</sup>.” Even there among those who seem to rule, He is the One Ruler. “The Most High ruleth *in* the kingdom of men,” (an unseen power *within* man’s visible kingdom, permitting or with-

<sup>d</sup> Cicero, Tusc. i. c. 26. Fingebat hæc Homerus, et humana ad Deos transferebat; divina mallet ad nos.

<sup>e</sup> Dan. ii. 21.

holding, uniting or dissolving, giving strength or bringing age upon them, and directing man's free-agency, like the wild uproar of the sea, to His own ends, unseen by man His work, but ever present with and *within* His work,) "the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will<sup>f</sup>." Pharaoh, Cyrus, the "Assyrian, the rod of His anger<sup>g</sup>," but "who meant not so, neither did his heart think so<sup>h</sup>," Nebuchadnezzar, of whom God saith by Jeremiah, "*I* who made the earth, the man and beast upon the ground,—and have given it unto whom it seemed good unto me, and now have I given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, my servant,—and all nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of *his* land come, and then many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of him<sup>i</sup>,"—these are but so many specimens and instances of His universal empire, doing all that is good, and ordering what is evil, so "that the wrath of man doth but praise Him<sup>h</sup>."

And this should be understood not simply of certain fixed laws, whereby the rise and decay of states are regulated, as that an enduring self-denying state should prosper, a luxurious self-indulgent people should decay, an upright state should acquire might, a crafty (like Carthage) should be taken in its own craftiness, and the like,—as if God were

<sup>f</sup> Dan. iv. 25.    <sup>g</sup> Isaiah x. 5.    <sup>h</sup> Ver. 7.    Jer. xxvii. 5—7.

<sup>k</sup> Ps. lxxvi. 10.

separate from His Providence and His laws, and His law were an abstraction to which He had committed the government of things, and not rather that His laws were His own continued action, dispensing in one *uniform* way His sovereign will, because “in Him is no variableness, neither shadow of turning,” but still Himself, personally present and personally measuring out to every nation its portion according to its works, in His will, whose will is the law of things created. For so personally doth Scripture speak, speaking universally; “with Him,” it is written in Job<sup>1</sup>, “is strength and wisdom, the deceived and the deceiver are His: He leadeth counsellors away spoiled, and maketh the judges fools: He looseth the bond of kings, and girdeth their loins with a girdle: He leadeth princes away spoiled, and overthroweth the mighty: He removeth away the speech of the trusty, and taketh away the understanding of the aged: He poureth contempt upon princes, and weakeneth the strength of the mighty:—He taketh away the heart of the chief of the people of the earth, and causeth them to wander in a wilderness where there is no way.” Nay it seems one object of the relations of the Old Testament to correct man’s Atheistic way of contemplating things, whereby he would substitute for the Living God some abstraction; as law or nature, or general Providence, or order of things, for the Giver and Maintainer of laws and nature.

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xii. 16 ad fin.

“the Lord who will provide” and order all things ; and therefore it may be, doth God, in this place of Job and elsewhere, speak in such detail and so vividly, shewing that not only the ends but the means, not only the victory but the strength, not the power to persuade, but the eloquent speech, and the understanding of the experienced, are His, that He giveth or withholdeth, turneth them to foolishness or taketh them away, as He will. Not the great results only, (as men call great,) but the smallest, most insignificant means, every step of the countless multitudes who march along the high-way of God’s Providence, is ordered by Him, so that they should “march<sup>m</sup> every one on his ways, and not break their ranks, neither one thrust another, but walk every one in his path.” And hence God’s saints so often in holy Scripture confess, that all their power and wisdom and might cometh from Him, not in general terms only, but in particulars, that He “girdeth<sup>n</sup> them with strength,” giveth swiftnes to their feet<sup>o</sup>, “maketh them wiser than the aged<sup>p</sup>,” “teacheth their hands to war<sup>q</sup> ;” for this faith in God’s aid and presence in details, is the life of all belief in His general Providence, and without this, that more general belief is little better than an empty abstraction.

But if the history of God’s dealings with the Jewish Church is a key to His governance of

<sup>m</sup> Joel ii. 7, 8.  
cxix. 100.

<sup>n</sup> Ps. xviii. 32.  
<sup>q</sup> Ibid. xviii. 34.

<sup>o</sup> Ver. 33.      <sup>p</sup> Ibid.



that His larger family, who had “gone away into a far country<sup>r</sup>,” to follow their own desires uncontrolled, much more is it to the governance of the Christian Church. For here we have not only the general correspondence of God’s sovereignty, whereby the creatures of God’s hands must either willingly, or against their will, be under His rule, must bear the sceptre or the rod of iron, and carry on His ends in their preservation or destruction, by their obedience or their perverseness, but we have the happier lot of being His family, the kingdom which He has chosen out of all nations to dwell in them. The Theocracy is continued, only invisibly. As God dwelt before by the Shechinah in the temple, so now the universal Christian Church is one temple, wherein it pleaseth Him to dwell, not now for a time—but “the Lord will abide in it for ever,” by virtue of His own promise, “Lo! I am with you alway, even to the end of the world.”

We must not think of the law or its blessings as passed away; our Lord forbids it; what does not yet remain is *fulfilled*, *i. e.* filled up and realized, as an outline by the substance; the moral law remains; the ritual and the political had their fulfilment in Christ and His Church; the particular Providence of the Jewish people continues on in the Christian Church; only in the Christian higher far and more enduring as the spiritual is higher than the civil Government, the relation of

<sup>r</sup> Luke xv. 15.

sons than that of servants, Heaven than Canaan. "The whole kingdom of the Hebrew nation," says S. Augustine\*, "was one great prophet, because it prophesies of one Great One. In the actions as well as the words of their holy men must we look for prophecies of Christ *and His Church*; but for the rest of the nation, collectively in *God's dealings with them*. 'For all these things (as the Apostle says) were our ensamples,' " *i. e.* types and images of us. From the mutual connection of the Head and His members, the Jewish people, wherein they image forth our Lord, reflect also His Body, the Church, as well as in their more direct resemblance; nor is it in their waywardness, or their rebellions, or their turning back to Egypt only, that they shadow out individuals, but in God's dealings with them, they picture His dealings with His Church, which He formed into one in Christ out of them and of the Gentiles.

God's dealings with them, then, not only give instruction, (as any knowledge of God must,) but are a prophecy; peculiar situations of the Jewish people are prophetic warnings or encouragements; and it may be that a very minute correspondence will be found between the histories of the Jewish and Christian Church. At all events, we ought to look to striking occasions, where God's dealings were more visibly manifested, as grounds whereon to build our conduct and our hopes. The passage

\* c. Faust. l. xxii. c. 24.

of the Red sea, to which the text refers, was one of those occasions ; its typical relation to the Christian Church, S. Paul has authoritatively declared ; and S. Matthew that of the Exodus, which it completed, to our Lord's call out of Egypt ; the Song of Moses, wherein he praised God for His mercies therein, itself looked on and furnished the form and language of other prophecy ; and its use in the Universal Church, as a hymn of praise, shews them to have recognised its continued Christian meaning and application.

At the very verge of that deliverance, thus solemnly commemorated in the Jewish and Christian Church, when the whole early people of God seemed to be in a great strait, entangled in the land, and shut in by the wilderness, the sea before them, and behind them " all the horses and chariots of Pharaoh, and his horsemen, and his army," Moses uttered the prophetic words, " Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord." The peril was at its height, the Church seemed on the very brink of destruction, Egypt, the emblem of Antichrist, was ready to destroy, and there was no way left, when God " made the depths of the sea a way for His people, that the ransomed of the Lord might pass over\*."

These words, which to fleshly Israel must have seemed so strange, and which to weak faith echo so strangely still, contain two parts, a duty and a

\* Isaiah li. 10.

blessing. They are not mere words of encouragement; they impose a duty, and annex a blessing to its fulfilment. "Quietness and confidence" were to be "their strength." They were to "stand still," and so should they see the "salvation of God." And this condition of blessing runs continually through the whole history of the Jewish and Christian Church. As, namely, the first sin of man was trust in self and mistrust in God, so the correction has continually been, mistrust in self and trust in God. When God has tried His chosen servants or His chosen people, the most frequent trial perhaps has been this, whether they would tarry the Lord's leisure, be content to receive God's gift in God's way, take, at least, no wrong measures for obtaining it, hasten not, turn not to the right hand or the left; but "stand still," and "see the salvation of their God." They who have stood this trial have been eminent saints, the jewels of the Lord; they who have failed in this, have been like vessels, destined for some high use, but through this one flaw, marred in the fire which was to prove and form them. Even when unlawful means have not been used, yet the employment of any means, until God gave *the* means into the hand, were followed by pain and grief. Thus Abram and Sarai waited ten years for the promise, and then Abram hearkened to the voice of Sarai, and Ishmael was born; Ishmael too had a blessing for Abraham's willing faith, who resigned him, and his own hopes in him,



yet was he a grief to both Abraham and Sarah, and to their descendants. The child, whose birth they had wished for, themselves cast out, and “ he who was born after the flesh,” in himself and in his seed, “ persecuted him who was born after the Spirit.” By faith<sup>t</sup> Moses slew the Egyptian ; yet because this earnest zeal was not sufficiently subdued to do God’s will and His only, he was forty years a stranger in the desert ; and yet one like unbidden act cost him the land of Canaan. Jacob obtained the promise appointed to him before his birth ; yet because he obtained it in the way of human device, “ few and evil were the days of his pilgrimage ;” Isaac waited twenty-one years for the fulfilment of the promise, and passed a peaceful life, strangely contrasted with his son’s disquiet. Israel, in faithless fear of Ammon, asked for the king, who had been spoken of to them in the Law ; and it became a sin and a snare to them ; and God “ consumed them and their king<sup>u</sup>.” Saul waited not for Samuel, for “ fear the Philistines should come down upon him, and he had not made supplication unto the Lord ;” and he was told for this first sin, “ now would the Lord have established thy throne upon Israel for ever, but now thy kingdom shall not continue, because thou hast not kept that which the Lord commanded thee<sup>x</sup>.” David (of himself hasty and jealous) evinced himself the “ man after God’s own

<sup>t</sup> Acts vii. 23, 24.    <sup>u</sup> 1 Sam. xii. 25.    <sup>x</sup> 1 Sam. xiii. 12—14.

heart," in preferring rather to be "hunted like a partridge on the mountains," than obtain that which God had promised him, until God should give it him. Jeroboam, though by nature what men call able and of a noble spirit<sup>y</sup>, by not waiting, and by human wisdom, became guilty of rebellion, his house was cut off, and himself became a proverb, with the miserable title, "who made Israel (the Lord's promised, chosen people) to sin." Baasha<sup>z</sup> and Jehu were raised up by God to execute judgment on their masters, yet because they did this, and joined therewith policy of their own, the blood which was righteously shed, was demanded of their hands, and God "avenged the blood of Jezreel on the house of Jehu<sup>a</sup>." "Asa's heart was perfect with the Lord<sup>b</sup>," yet because he relied on the king of Syria for that wherein he should have relied on the Lord of Hosts, Hanani denounced God's judgments; "Herein thou hast done foolishly; therefore from henceforth thou shalt have wars<sup>c</sup>." The inaugural visions of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, in different ways, lay the same burthen upon them, that they should be the willing spontaneous instruments of God; use no words of their own, but speak every word given them by God: as the Apostles were afterwards forbidden to premeditate what words they should use, but were to "speak what should be given them in that

<sup>y</sup> See 1 Kings xi. 28.

<sup>z</sup> 1 Kings xv. 29. xvi. 2 and 7.

<sup>a</sup> Hos. i. 4.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Kings xv. 14.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Chron. xvi. 7—.

hour<sup>d</sup>;"—an exercise at once of faith and faithfulness. And why speak of man, when He in whom our nature was restored, as a part of the restoration of that nature, and as an example of what should be realized in His members, underwent man's three-fold trial "of the desire of the flesh, the desire of the eyes, and vain-glory<sup>e</sup>," in this same way, whether He would obtain for Himself that which was His, in any other way than that appointed; which when He had refused, "Satan," we are told, had "ended all his temptation<sup>f</sup>." And He left to His disciples the same rule, and the same promise; "Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake; but there shall not a hair of your head perish; in your patience possess ye your souls<sup>g</sup>." The disciple and the Church were to be hated like their Master and their Lord, to withstand in the same way, by patient self-possession of their souls, and with and through Him to stand. And, again, "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it, but whosoever will lose his life for My sake shall find it<sup>h</sup>;" and "the meek shall inherit the earth." Through patient suffering did the Son obtain the heathen for His inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for His possession; as He said<sup>i</sup>, "If I be lifted up from the earth, I shall draw all men unto Me." "It is enough for the

<sup>d</sup> Matt. x. 19, 20. Luke xii. 11, 12.

<sup>e</sup>1 John ii. 16.

<sup>f</sup> Luke iv. 13. See S. Aug. on Ps. viii. §. ult.

<sup>g</sup> Luke

xxi. 17—19.

<sup>h</sup> Luke ix. 24.

<sup>i</sup> John xii. 32.

disciple that he be as his Master." By *patient* (the word implies *suffering*) waiting for God, an unresisting resistance unto blood, did the Church take root in the whole world. It would seem as if S. Paul's imprisonment was a hindrance to the Gospel: so, it seems, he may himself have feared; this was the affliction of his bonds: but they "fell out *rather*," he writes<sup>k</sup>, "to the furtherance of the Gospel;" the "bonds of S. Paul in Christ" carried the Gospel into the household and court of the Cæsar<sup>l</sup>, and "in all other places," and gave confidence to many; as in later times, the captivity of Rome brought in the Gospel among the Vandals; and Christian slaves took captive their conquerors. The afflictions of the Thessalonians sounded out the Gospel to Macedonia and Achaia<sup>m</sup>. "*The signs of an Apostle* were wrought among you," says S. Paul to the Corinthians<sup>n</sup>, "in all *endurance*," as well as in "signs and wonders and mighty deeds." "The work of an Evangelist," bequeathed by S. Paul to Timothy and his successors, was to "watch in-all things, and to *endure hardships*°." It is a *Christian* proverb, (and proverbs become such by the frequency of their application,) that "the blood of martyrs was the seed of the Church:" the Gospel alone made known that non-resistance was strength, because "the strength of God was made perfect in

<sup>k</sup> Phil. i. 12—14. <sup>l</sup> v. 13. and iv. 22. <sup>m</sup> 1 Thess. i. 6—8.  
<sup>n</sup> 2 Cor. xii. 12. <sup>o</sup> 2 Tim. iv. 5.



weakness.” “The more,” says Origen<sup>p</sup>, “kings and the rulers of nations and people every where afflicted them, the more they multiplied and prevailed exceedingly<sup>q</sup>.” The spiritual sons of the Gospels were multiplied by the self-same means as His chosen people in Egypt, by God’s blessing on patient submission to injury. “We are multiplied,” says Tertullian, “so often as we are mown down by you. The blood of Christians is seed<sup>r</sup>.”

<sup>p</sup> c. Cels. vii. p. 713. ed. Ben.

<sup>q</sup> Exod. i. 12.

<sup>r</sup> Apol. c. 50. S. Aug. in Ps. lxx. s. 2. §. 4. strikingly connects the death of the Martyrs with that of their Lord: he places them in juxta-position only, yet so as to shew how he felt that it was from His Blood-shedding that theirs had their efficacy. “When Christ came, He was crucified, dead, rose again, called the Gentiles, they began to be converted, became Martyrs strong in Christ, the faithful blood was shed, the harvest of the Church arose. This was the youth of the Church.” And again, Serm. 287. in natal. Martyr. Protas. et Gervas. §. 3. “The Lord first died for him, as was meet, and Peter afterwards died for the Lord, in the order which was meet. The thorny road was first laid and trodden down by the feet of Apostles, and so became smoother to those who were to follow. The earth was filled with Martyrs, as with the seed of blood, and from that seed arose the harvest of the Church. Dead, they testified to Christ more than alive. To-day they testify, to-day they preach; the tongue is mute, the deeds speak. They were seized, were bound, imprisoned, brought forth, racked, burnt, stoned, stricken down, set aloft for wild beasts. In all their deaths they were scoffed as despicable; but ‘precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints.’ Then ‘precious in the sight of the Lord’ only, now in our sight also. For then, when to be a Christian was a reproach, the death of the saints was despicable in man’s sight;

And Justin <sup>s</sup>, himself a Martyr, relates how, “ when he was content with Platonism, the endurance of Christians, and their fearlessness of death, and every thing accounted fearful,” won his first attention to the Gospel. “ When an ungodly man,” says S. Chrysostom <sup>t</sup>, “ bears rule, persecuting us on every side, and encompassing us with innumerable evils, then doth our state become bright and glorious.” And not in these only, but in the more fretting, because petty, oppressions to which they were exposed. “ We were enjoined not to strive,” says Justin <sup>u</sup>, “ but through endurance and meekness to lead all from things shameful and evil desires. And this we can shew you in many cases, where men, from being violent and oppressors, were changed, being subdued either by narrow observation of a neighbour’s lasting endurance, or having noted the strange patience of fellow-travellers when defrauded, or having made trial of it in commercial intercourse.” And this the more illustrates their conduct under deeper suffering,—that they suffered, not simply because they must suffer or deny the faith, not because they could not resist, but because they ought not, and so would not. God forbid that we should so wrong the memory of the blessed

they were abhorred, held in execration: it was cast out as a curse, ‘ So mayest thou die, so be crucified, so be burnt! What believer would not now long for such curses?’”

<sup>s</sup> Apol. ii. §. 12. p. 96. ed. Ben.

<sup>t</sup> De S. Babylla, §. 8.

<sup>u</sup> Apol. i. §. 16. p. 53.

Martyrs, as to think, (as the degenerate Church of Rome now traduces them<sup>p</sup>, lest she should seem to act contrary to them,) that they were Martyrs because they had not strength to resist; they were Martyrs, rather because they had strength *not* to resist, because they had strength to resist themselves. They “filled the world<sup>q</sup>,” (I use their own language,) had “penetrated into every corner of it<sup>r</sup> ;” they were portions of the armies. Early as Tertullian the appeal was made, “You<sup>s</sup> must decimate Carthage, if you would destroy us; spare thyself, if not us; if not thyself, spare Carthage.” “No one of us,” says a blessed Martyr<sup>t</sup> of the same Church, “resists, when he is apprehended, nor avenges himself against your injustice and violence, although our people is an exceedingly numerous host,” (*nimius et copiosus*.) What, then, had the Christians turned against their destroyers, and employed against the worn-out and enervated

<sup>p</sup> “If the Christians formerly did not depose Nero and Dioclesian and Julian the Apostate and Valens the Arian and the like, it was that they wanted secular strength.” Bellarmine de Pontif. Rom. l. v. c. 7. He adds, “But Christians are not bound, nay, they ought not, with evident peril of religion, [i. e. in man’s sight,] to tolerate an unbelieving king.” See others also ap. Bp. Taylor, Sermon on Nov. 5. Works, vol. vi. p. 612. ed. Heber.

<sup>q</sup> Arnob. l. i. p. 27. cf. p. 9, 10.

<sup>r</sup> Lactant. de M. P. c. 3. fin.

<sup>s</sup> Ad Scap. c. 5.

<sup>t</sup> S. Cyprian, (quoted by Bp. Taylor, l. c. p. 613.) ad Demetrian. p. 192. ed. Fell.

luxury of the crumbling Empire that energy with which they upheld it, had they acted instead of suffering? Truly then they had lost their strength, avenged themselves on their enemies, and like Samson perished—as to their real life. But they “had not so learned Christ.” “The weapons of *their* warfare were not carnal, though mighty through God for the pulling down of strong-holds, casting down every high thing that exalteth itself, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ<sup>u</sup>.” They had been taught the lesson, which the heathen Emperor, when revealed to him, but half understood, *ἐν τούτῳ νίκα*; and women, the ignorant, the young, mechanics, peasants, overcame the learning and the strength of the world—by endurance; and then taught the might which they had conquered, to unlearn confidence in its own might, and that when they were weak, then were they strong<sup>x</sup>: they overcame by the rack, by torture, by the fury of wild beasts, by the flames, by the red-hot iron seat, by pincers which mangled the flesh so that there remained scarce a vestige of the human form—not by using them, but by enduring them; they endured more than we could think human malice could invent, or human sufferance endure: and in truth it was not what it seemed, but satanic malice which invented, and Divine strength which endured, —and so the smoke of their earthly torment went up as a sweet savour to God, who for His Son’s sacri-

<sup>u</sup> 2 Cor. x. 4, 5.

<sup>x</sup> 2 Cor. xii. 10.



fice accepted this sacrifice, and their countenances being “ marred more than the sons of men,” became images of Him, “ in whom the Father was well-pleased.” They who could not be overcome, overcame; passiveness and unresistingness overcame the world; they overcame it by Him who had overcome it, by taking up His cross, and following Him. And as they hung upon His cross, emblems, as it were, and shadows, yea and members of Him, He imparted to their sufferings one part of the efficacy of His own, and they also, by His might, being “ lifted up from the earth,” drew all men—not to themselves, but—to Him, whose witnesses they were. “ Christians,” says S. Justin<sup>y</sup>, or one of his time, “ abound more and more through suffering every day.—See you not how they are cast to the beasts, that they may be made deny their Lord, and are not overcome? See you not how they *abound, in proportion with the increase of their sufferings?* These things seem not like the work of men; but *they are the power of God, and indications of His presence.*”

And, afterwards, when the State oppressed the Church, and upheld a blasphemous heresy against it, it was by the same weapons that the Church prevailed, not obeying man, when God was the rather to be obeyed, yet suffering whatever man could inflict. It was amid Arian persecutions,

<sup>y</sup> Ep. ad Diognet. translated in Tracts for the Times, Records, No. 15.



profaner in some respects than the heathen, that the five times exiled Saint, Athanasius the Great, upheld and transmitted to us the Catholic Doctrine, the rich reward of the exile and persecution of nearly half of his nearly half century's Episcopate ; it was by readiness to submit to all things that S. Ambrose and S. Basil retained the Churches of their provinces for the right faith ; “ he is not liable to confiscation,” answered S. Basil to the messenger of Valens<sup>y</sup>, “ who has nothing ; unless indeed you want these worn-out rags, and a few books, which are my whole substance. Exile I know not, who am not bounded by place, and neither regard this as mine, where I now live, and yet all, wherever I may be cast, as mine, or rather God's, with Whom I am a stranger and a sojourner. And what hold could tortures have, when they

<sup>y</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. Funeb. in Magn. Basil. §. 49. p. 807. ed. Ben. (cf. Greg. Nyss. c. Eunom. l. i. p. 313. ed. Morell.) Modestus had expressed his surprise that Basil did not fear. “ B. What should I fear ; what suffer ? M. What ? Any one of the many things, which I can inflict. B. What are they ? tell me them. M. Confiscation, exile, tortures, death. B. If you have aught besides, threaten me therewith ; for none of these have any hold on me. M. How ? ” This explains the form of S. Basil's answer, which is no declamation, but a simple answer to threats. Modestus remarked that he had never so been spoken to. “ B. For perhaps you never met with a Bishop.” Modestus returned to Valens, and said, “ O king, we are conquered by him who is set over this Church. He is superior to threats, words, persuasions. You must try one of the less noble sort. Against him, you must either use open force, or not expect him to yield to threats.” Valens yielded.

would find no body, except for the first stroke? for this alone is in your power. But death were a benefactor, for it would bring me sooner to God, to Whom I live, and serve, and for the most part have died, and have of old time been hastening.” “And thus,” says S. Gregory of Nyssa<sup>1</sup>, “he was set forth by God, as Elias in the time of Ahab, and brought back all to the right way, engaging with those under authority, combating with generals, speaking fearlessly to kings, escaping the hold of his assailants; as having nothing whereby they might seize him.” S. Ambrose repressed the people who loved him, and overcame the Arian Emperor of the world by peril of death<sup>2</sup>.

And when they received gifts from the State, it was not as mendicants, but as “priests of the Most

<sup>1</sup> Paneg. t. iii. p. 404. c. d.

<sup>2</sup> “If you ask any thing of mine,” was S. Ambrose’s answer, when required to cede a Church to the Arians, “such as my estate, my money, or whatever else of this sort, I will not refuse, although every thing of mine belongs to the poor; but the things of God are not subject to the Emperor’s power. Seek ye my patrimony? enter on it; my person? I will yield it. Would ye hale me to prison or to death? it were a joy to me. I will not be fenced in by the encompassing multitude, nor lay hold of the altar, imploring for life, but more gladly will I be sacrificed for the altars.” Ep. 20. §. 8. And afterwards, “I may neither yield the Church, nor is it well for thee, O Emperor, to take it. Exalt not thyself; if thou wouldst continue to reign, be subject to God. It is written, ‘to God the things of God, the Cæsar’s to Cæsar.’ Palaces belong to the Emperor, Churches to the Priest. The public, not the sacred, walls are committed to thee.” Ib. §. 16.

High God;" they received them in the name of God not for themselves, nor as "desiring a gift, but rather desiring fruit which might abound to the account"<sup>a</sup> of the givers. It was by a readiness to make sacrifices, that the "riches of the Gentiles flowed in" unto them, when they seemed to be given not to men, (who cared not for them and were content not to receive them,) but to God, Whose ministers they were. S. Ambrose could then boldly and truly expostulate with Valentinian<sup>b</sup>, whom they had almost persuaded to furnish the expenses of the heathen sacrifices, "What wilt thou answer to the priest when he saith to thee, The Church seeks not thy grants, because thou hast with grants adorned the temples of the Gentiles? The altar of Christ rejects thy gifts, because thou hast made an altar to idols." S. Laurence<sup>c</sup> yielded up his life, not the treasure of the Church, committed to him, to profanation; he took not "the gold of the temple to give to the king of Assyria," and thus he saved the deposit committed to him, and by the constancy of his death gained to himself

<sup>a</sup> Phil. iv. 17.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. xvii. ad Valentinian. sect. 14. p. 827. ed. Bened. A characteristic saying is preserved of S. Thomas Aquinas. He found Innocent IV. counting money. "Innoc. The Church, you see, is no longer in the age, when she said, 'Silver and gold have I none.' S. Thom. True, holy father; but neither can she say to the sick of the palsy, 'Rise up and walk.'"

<sup>c</sup> See the history at length in Tillemont Hist. Eccl. tom. iii. p. 16 sqq.

a greater treasure, the crown of martyrdom, and many souls, which he won to Christ.

It is for instruction only that we may ask why God should so have annexed the blessing of conquest to enduring suffering, and made patience mightier than what men call active virtues. One would not presume to think one knew all the grounds: it may be that they have some mysterious connection with the sufferings of Christ, which pass our understanding; and some such connection is indicated by S. Paul, "filling up what remaineth of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for His body's sake, which is the Church"<sup>d</sup>—as though it pleased God, that the union of Christ and His members should so be set forth, that as He is persecuted in His members, so the more eminent of His saints, who were more closely united with Him, knowing, as S. Paul again says, "the fellowship of His sufferings, and being made conformable to His death<sup>e</sup>," should shadow Him forth, by suffering in the flesh for their brethren, emblems of His vicarious, though not of His meritorious, death. But vicarious suffering may be so far well-pleasing to God, as having a communion with the sufferings of His beloved Son, and doubtless it may make those, who are partakers of it, more capable<sup>f</sup> of the communication of the merits and influence of His Passion,

<sup>d</sup> Col. i. 24.  
Second Edition.

<sup>e</sup> Phil. iii. 10.

<sup>f</sup> See Preface to the



wherein they have been in a manner joined, being baptized with His baptism, and having drunk of His cup.

Then, also, it may be needful, in the wisdom of God, for the perfecting of His saints. As all trial implies pain, so the trial of the most precious vessels, it may be, is to be accomplished by pains proportionate. It seems not without special meaning that the analogy of gold is so often pointed out by Scripture. God sheweth us in this natural process an emblem of things spiritual. If even gold, which in the end perisheth, must yet be tried in the fire, how much more must faith, being more precious, so be proved<sup>f</sup>.

But, besides, it is evident that so God's power and glory is most shewn. "Then all men that see it shall say, This hath God done, for they shall perceive that it is His work<sup>g</sup>." There is a natural instinct, which recognises that when things are too intricate for man, God will interpose. Heathen poetry speaks of a perplexity of affairs, which claims God to interfere<sup>h</sup>. A Jewish proverb says, "When Israel is brought to the brick-kilns, then cometh Moses;" a saying remarkably illustrated by the whole book of Judges. And Scripture itself has

<sup>f</sup> 1 Pet. i. 7.

<sup>g</sup> Psal. lxiv. 9. Pr. B.

<sup>h</sup> Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus Acciderit. Hor. de A. P. 191. and the Greek *Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς*. Our proverb, "Man's necessity is God's opportunity," and "When things are at the worst, they'll mend," express the same belief.



consecrated a like proverb, “ In the mount of the Lord shall it be seen or provided<sup>1</sup>,” i. e. at the last moment, when faith and obedience have been tried to the uttermost, and there seemeth no help left, and that God would indeed exact what man could scarce endure, then would God from heaven avert the suffering, or crown the enduring faith by His blessing. “ The Lord will provide.” So Joseph rose from the dungeon, and Daniel from the lions’ den, to rule empires for the sake of His people. The gallows were prepared, the edict issued, the whole scattered people of God given into their enemies’ hand ; the king passed one sleepless night, Esther ventured her life, the people was saved, the adversary hanged. Sennacherib<sup>k</sup> had arrived at Nob ; he was “ shaking his hand against the mount of the daughter of Zion ;” on the morrow it was to be destroyed ; “ in that night the angel of the Lord went out ; early in the morning they were all dead corpses<sup>1</sup>.” At S. Paul’s first answer, “ no man stood with him, all forsook him ;” then “ the Lord stood with him, and strengthened him<sup>m</sup>.”

Then, also, since man’s self-will was the cause of his fall, when he would be wiser than God, and in his own way be as God, God would thus teach him to submit his own will, to renounce dependence upon himself, to quit his own wisdom and his own schemes, let every thing, if needs be, go

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxii. 14.

<sup>k</sup> Is. x. 32 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xix. 35.

<sup>m</sup> 2 Tim. iv. 16, 17.

out of course, and then, “ when the earth is weak and the inhabitants thereof,” it will appear that the Lord “ beareth up the pillars of it, and will say to the ungodly, Lift not up your horn, for God is the Judge ; He putteth down one and setteth up another<sup>1</sup>.” It is a practising of our daily prayer, “ Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven,” a realizing, a qualifying for, a practising, a foretaste, of Heaven—to do God’s will blindly, and consent that it may be done, cheerfully, without forecasting how it may end, whither it may lead, careful only about this, that it be His will. It is an Angel’s life to obey unquestioning, and fits for Angelic duties and Angelic glories.

Lastly, there is room to fear lest, mingling in human schemes for her own security, the Church should leave her dependence upon God, and adopt insensibly the maxims of the world. “ Resist not evil” is a precept plain in its *mode* of execution, though hard to fulfil ; it prescribes a difficult but a plain track ; but, admit the principle that man may resist evil, it is no longer easy to say where and how resistance begins to be sin. Man cannot avoid difficulties ; they are essential to trial ; he may, by shrinking from them, substitute greater, but cannot escape them. And this difficulty is increased by the very immensity of the interests at stake ; all the enormities, which have given occasion in this respect to the enemies of God to blaspheme, have

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxxv.

arisen out of principles in themselves indisputable. No one, for instance, could doubt of the superiority of things spiritual to things temporal, or that the office of a Bishop of Christ's flock was higher than that of a temporal sovereign ; that the sufferings of hell are so dreadful that any present agonies are blessings if they prevent them ; that men will be damned for wrong faith, as well as for unholy lives ; yet plain as these things are, out of men's misapplication of their duties regarding them, have arisen deposition of kings, absolving subjects from their oaths and allegiance, encouragement of murder, treason, rebellion, assassination, lying, perjury, cruelty, butchery of whole bodies at once, from which God saved *us* this day. From the time that the Church of Rome began to forsake the principles of the Church Catholic and grasp after human means, she began also to take evil means for good ends, and incurring the Apostolic curse on them who " do evil that good may come," took at last evil means for evil ends. She, the Apostolic Church of the West, consecrated by Apostolic blood, shewed herself rather the descendant of them who slew the Apostles, and " thought that they did God service," stained herself with the blood of the saints, that on her might come all the righteous blood which was shed within her ; even of the very Apostles, who had shed their blood for her. There is not an enormity which has been practised against people or kings by miscreants in the name of God, but

the divines of that unhappy Church have abetted or justified<sup>s</sup>. And if she so fell, well may those

\* See Bp. Taylor's learned Sermon on the Fifth of November. He gives, as cases, the justification of the murder of Henry the Third of France, (which the assassin indeed did on the authority of the divines he had asked, p. 583, 5, it was praised by Sixtus V. in full Consistory, p. 589, 90.) and of Henry the Fourth. (p. 585.) The Gunpowder plot was apologized for by Bellarmine and others, (ib. 586.) So also the Massacre of S. Bartholomew, (see below,) and the Irish Massacre of 1641 by Urban VIII. "whose joy thereat could not be expressed," (see ap. Rushworth, t. v. p. 504.) and who granted "a plenary indulgence and remission of all their sins, to the Catholic warriors who were labouring to extirpate the workers of iniquity, who infected the mass of Catholic purity with the leaven of heretical contagion." (ibid. p. 525 sqq.) On the "deposition of princes by the see of Rome," Bp. Taylor refers to Bellarmine quoting "twenty-one Italians, fourteen French, nine Germans, seven English and Scotch, nineteen Spaniards, and these all very famous and very leading authors:" (p. 601.) on the "lawfulness of a private man to murder princes condemned of heresy and tyranny," Bp. Taylor quotes some eminent authorities among them. (p. 605.) All through the reign of Queen Elizabeth attempts to assassinate were recommended by the Doctors, and blessed by the Bishop of Rome. See Nicholl on the Fifth of November Service.

It is, however, a remarkable but melancholy counterpart, that, previous to the Great Rebellion, non-conformist preachers maintained, that "for defence of religion, and reform of the Church, it is lawful to take arms against the king:" (Dugdale's Late Troubles, p. 73.) as did the Socinian Hoadly, that "we are only forbidden to resist good governors:" and the Statute of 1 W. and M. st. II. c. 2. §. 9. which not only excludes from the inheritance of the crown "any one who should be reconciled to, or hold communion with, the See or Church of Rome, profess the Popish religion, or marry a Papist," but declares "*the people in such case absolved from their allegiance,*" strangely agrees with



“ who think they stand, take heed lest they fall.”

The principle then of Holy Scripture, as interpreted by the conduct of the martyrs and the early Church, is to await God’s time, to suffer so long as He wills, not to help ourselves—to “ stand still, and see the salvation of God.” The principle of the Romish Church was expediency ; it was a plotting, scheming, worldly spirit, having at first God’s glory for its end, but seeking it by secular means, and at last, in punishment, left to seek its own glory, and to set itself up in the place of God. Nor can we exempt other branches of the Reformation from the same faithless spirit ; the forfeiture, for instance, of Episcopacy by Calvin and his followers, was done in the same spirit as the sacrifice of Saul, or the support of the Ark by Uzzah whom God slew ; they acknowledged that *he* was to be anathematized<sup>h</sup> who might have Episcopacy, and had it not ; the principles of the Church of Rome ; for, as Bp. Taylor argues in this case, “ it is plain that killing a prince is a certain consequent of deposing him, unless the prince—be bound not to resist, and as really give over his kingdom quietly, as he is bound. For if any of these should fail, there can be but very slender assurance of his life.” (p. 603.)

<sup>h</sup> “ Let there be such a Hierarchy, in which Bishops shall in such wise be raised up, as not to refuse to be subject to Christ, depend on Him, as their only Head, and refer themselves to Him ; then I would confess that they are worthy of any anathema if any shall be found, who shall not shew to it reverence and the most implicit obedience.” Calvin *de necessitate reformatiŏ Ecclesiæ v. fin. Opp. t. viii. p. 60. ed. Amstel.* This and passages from other foreign Reformers are quoted by Bishop



but they could not ; and, with Saul, they offered the unbidden sacrifice, and with Uzzah touched the Ark of God's presence, lest it should fall, mistrusting God's power to raise it up. And so now the Church of Rome, who was Queen among the nations, is brought down to the dust under the nations, and is in bondage with her children ; and Geneva, which boasted of the purity of its doctrinal reformation, has been the seat of a worse Antichrist.

It is not (God knoweth) in any spirit of boast against those branches, some of which were grafted in before us, but still in encouragement and warning, that I would notice, that herein also our Church followed the principles of the Church Catholic, and with her had her portion. She alone of all the reformed Churches was purified in the fire, and purged by the blood of martyrs, and had the evidence of affliction that she was a beloved child and no bastard. And her general conduct has been true to her first principles, to render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's ; to do nothing against the command of God, but to suffer every thing which the Cæsar may require. It was thus that the seven Bishops mainly checked James's tyranny, refusing to do, but submitting to suffer, what

Hall, *Episcopacy by divine right*, p. 1. sect. 2. who mentions that this passage of Calvin is quoted with approbation by Chamier de membris Eccl. iv. 1.

was unlawful ; it was thus that even in the Great Rebellion men cheerfully took the spoiling of their goods ; it was thus that in events familiar to us, the members of this place<sup>i</sup>, at different periods, suffered what was unlawful, rather than compromise their principles ;—and we cherish their memories.

The two events, for which we keep this day as an annual thanksgiving to God, together, strikingly illustrate these principles. 1. That we may safely leave things to God. 2. That there is great risk, that man, by any impatience of his, will mar the blessing which God designs for His Church.

In the plot, from which this day is named, God had permitted things to come to the uttermost ; every preparation was made, every scruple removed ; a Romanist<sup>k</sup> had solemnly given the answer, that, for so great a benefit to the Church, Romanists too might be sacrificed ; the innocent might be slain, so that the guilty majority escaped not ; the last feeling of humanity, as one would have thought, that to members of their own Church, was extinguished. The secret was entrusted to but few, was guarded by the most solemn oaths and by the participation of the Holy Eucharist, had been kept for a year and a half, although all the Romanists in England knew that some great plot was being

<sup>i</sup> In the times of the Great Rebellion and under James II.

<sup>k</sup> Garnet the Jesuit priest [and others. Nicholl on the C. P.]

carried on, and were praying for its success ; inferior plots had been forbidden by Rome, lest they should mar this great one ; no suspicion had been excited, and there was nothing left to excite suspicion, when God employed means the most unlikely, put, just at the last, one lurking feeling of pity for one person in the breast of but one, so that a dark hint was given to that one : and He caused him who gave it, to miscalculate the character of his own brother-in-law, or entrust him with more than he was aware ; then He placed fear in that other's breast, so that, through another and distant fear, he shewed the letter which contained this dark hint ; then, when the councillors despised the anonymous hint, as an idle tale, He enlightened the mind of the monarch, to discover the dark saying, which to us it seems strange that any beforehand should have unravelled ; and when even then the councillors had surveyed the very spot, and discovered nothing, He caused the monarch to persevere, undeterred, until He had brought the whole to light. Yet to see more of this mystery of God's providence, and how He weaves together the intricate web of human affairs, and places long before the hidden springs of things, one must think also, how He ordered that one of these few conspirators should be intermarried with one of the few Romanist peers, and so desired to save him ; and how by the conspiracy from which God had shielded the monarch's early life, He

quicken'd his sense of the present danger ; so that while men were marrying, and giving in marriage, and strengthening themselves by alliances, God was preparing the means whereby this kingdom should be saved against the will of those so employed ; and while men were plotting against a sacred life, God was laying up in the monarch's soul the thought, which Himself should hereafter kindle to save it. Verily, " a man's heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps<sup>a</sup>." " The ways of man are before the eyes of the Lord, and He pondereth all his goings ; his own iniquities shall take the wicked himself, and he shall be holden with the cords of his sins<sup>b</sup>." The words of the Psalmist, selected for this day's service, find a striking completion in this history<sup>c</sup>. " God<sup>d</sup> hid him from the secret counsel of the wicked, from the insurrection of the workers of iniquity—they encourage themselves in an evil matter ; they commune of laying snares privily ; they say, Who shall see them ? they search out iniquities ; they accomplish a diligent search ; the inward thought of every one of them, and the heart, is deep : but God shall shoot at them with an arrow ; suddenly shall they be wounded ; so they shall make their own tongue to fall upon themselves."

<sup>a</sup> Prov. xvi. 9.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. v. 21, 22.

<sup>c</sup> See Barrow's Sermon on this text and day. Sermon. xi.

<sup>d</sup> Ps. lxiv. 2 sqq.



But it yet more illustrates the teaching, and is an argument of encouragement to our Church, how God in two neighbouring countries permitted plots as atrocious to be accomplished. To human sight it is as strange that the massacre of S. Bartholomew should have been perpetrated, as that we should have escaped. The circumstances of that massacre even remind one of that destruction which extorted from the Heathen poet the confession, that it could not have been accomplished, “*si fata Deum, si mens non læva fuisset.*” The chiefs, on whom it fell, were men, the wisest of their age<sup>a</sup>, practised in avoiding surprises, alive to treachery, taught caution by their profession; yet neither past treachery, nor present oft-repeated warnings<sup>b</sup>, nor the half-completed assassination of the chief<sup>c</sup>, as a herald of the

<sup>a</sup> e. g. the Admiral Coligny.

<sup>b</sup> Coligny was warned by very many both by word of mouth and letter. Thuanus, l. lii. p. 805. “He was especially warned sharply in a letter, of the decree of the Papists, that faith was not to be kept with heretics, of the queen’s Italian guile, and the king’s profaneness, hypocrisy, and cruelty from his youth: a conversation of the king with his mother was reported, in which he had boasted of his playing his part to the queen of Navarre, and had sworn frequently to her, that he would bring them all into her toils.” (ib. 806.) And again, by those of Rochelle, who, on being civilly put off, applied to the king of Navarre, but in vain; a play was enacted, in which the Protestants were represented as cast into Hell, which “some interpreted ill,” so that F. Earl of Montmorency left Paris.” (Ib. 808.)

<sup>c</sup> The admiral. The shot came from the house of a Canon, preceptor of the Duke of Guise, and the assassin was connected with him. Coligny recognised it as the fruit of his reconcilia-



impending massacre, nor the forebodings of one<sup>d</sup> “*Dei jussu non unquam creditus,*” nor the knowledge that their enemies, who had feigned a retreat, were still hard by<sup>e</sup>, nor the menaces reported to them by their spies from those whom they were trusting<sup>f</sup>, nor the bringing them together like sheep for the slaughter<sup>g</sup>, nor the setting a well-known enemy as a guard to their chief<sup>h</sup>, nor the com-

tion with him ; yet remained secure in Paris.” *Continuat. de Fleuri H. E. l. clxiii. §. 5.* “The tragedy,” said the Vidame de Chartres, “having begun with the wounding of Coligny, would soon end with the massacre of the rest ; he therefore advised to quit Paris instantly.” (*Ib. §. 12.*)

<sup>d</sup> The Vidame de Chartres.

<sup>e</sup> The princes of Guise, who feigned a rupture with the king ; “but it was known that they had not left Paris.” (*Ib. §. 13.*)

<sup>f</sup> “Some Romanist courtiers, seeing the Calvinists leave the Church of Notre-Dame, not to hear the Mass at the marriage of the king of Navarre, had told them that their scruples would not last long ; their spies had heard from the servants of Charles de Gondy, the king’s Chamberlain, that more blood than wine would be spilled at that marriage.” (*Ib. §. 12. from De Thou, l. lii. p. 813.*)

<sup>g</sup> “The king had made the greater part of the Protestant nobles and gentry lodge near the admiral. The captains of the quarters had orders speedily to mark the lodgings, to take in writing the names of those who professed Calvinism, and to collect them as much as possible in the neighbourhood of Coligny ; and H. M. said very loud, that every body might hear, that he forbid any Catholic to approach that neighbourhood, and would have any, who contravened this order, fired upon.” (*Ib. §. 15.*) “These and other indications,” adds De Thou, “and the reports every where whispered, had sufficed to warn the Protestants, if they had not been infatuated.” (*p. 814.*)

<sup>h</sup> Cosseins, one of the greatest enemies of the admiral.

mencing tumults<sup>i</sup> could wake them from the death-sleep of security which was to end in the sleep of death. “Instamus tamen immemores cæcique.” “Surely,” says Solomon, “in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird<sup>k</sup>;” unless, adds Job, “God hath deprived her of wisdom, neither hath He imparted to her understanding<sup>l</sup>.” The devisor of the two plots was in both cases the same, papal Rome; she justified<sup>m</sup> that which failed, and Gregory XIII. ordered, and himself attended, a procession and thanksgiving for that which succeeded<sup>n</sup>; both proposed the

<sup>i</sup> “The admiral supposed that the tumults arose only from the people stimulated by the Guises, and that they would retire so soon as they saw the guard under the orders of Cosseins placed at his gate to defend him; he was not undeceived, until he learnt that his first gate had been forced, and that a musket had been fired in his court.” (Ib. §. 20.) “A little before,” says De Thou, p. 815, “observant persons had noticed that armed men were running to and fro in the city and round the Louvre; that the people were excited, threats every where heard, and thence they anticipated what would be; but Coligny only sent to inform the king, who assured him he had nothing to fear. At the same time, Teligni was told, that porters were carrying arms into the Louvre; but he despised the report, blamed such suspicions as needless, and forbad to inform Coligny of them.”

<sup>k</sup> Prov. i. 17.

<sup>l</sup> Job xxxix. 17.

<sup>m</sup> See above, p. 28.

<sup>n</sup> Ib. §. 40. Gregory also “struck some medals to perpetuate its memory; on one side of which was himself, on the other an angel holding a cross in one hand, and a sword in the other, exterminating heretics, and especially the admiral.” “This he did,” we are told, “regarding only the benefit which he ima-

same thing, the advancement of Romanism by the extinction of heretics; the one was carried on secretly, the other almost openly: of the one there were no intimations beforehand; in the other, they were frequent: the one seemed secure, being intrusted to a few; the other was in the hands of many: in the one, he on whom the execution depended, shrunk from sin so dreadful; Charles the Ninth, like Ahab whom Jezebel his wife stirred up, hesitated to the very last, and was ready to retract<sup>o</sup>; in the other they had no compunctions, or had stifled them. The depth of guilt in the massacre of S. Bartholomew, (if any thing,) seemed the more to call down the avenging interference of God, through the multiplied hypocrisy and perjuries whereby it was carried on<sup>p</sup>; yet the one, which every thing

gined must result from it to the Catholic religion in France." *Ib.* from the *Trésor Chronol. du P. de S. Romuald* in fol. p. 661.

<sup>o</sup> "The queen, even at midnight, fearing lest the king, whom she thought she perceived still fluctuating and hesitating at the atrocity of the guilt, should change, went to his bedchamber, whither Anjou and others, and Guise, presently repaired, as agreed on. Then they relate, that after a long conversation to and fro, the king, when hesitating, was rebuked by his mother, for that by the delay he was letting slip so fair an occasion of subduing his enemies. At which speech, the king being of a very savage spirit and accustomed to shed blood, was fired, as being charged with cowardice, and gave orders for its execution. The queen, taking advantage of this impulse, lest he should relax, if an interval were given, hastened the signal, which was to have been given before day-break." *De Thou*, p. 816.

<sup>p</sup> Especially on the part of Charles the Ninth. It was per-

earthly combined to overthrow, succeeded; the other, which every thing tended to ensure, failed. “ Verily, there is a God that judgeth the earth.”

“ Thy way is in the sea, and Thy path in the great waters, and Thy footsteps are not known ;” and it is Thou who “ leddest Thy people like a flock<sup>a</sup>,” though by human hand. Far be it from us to say that we understand God’s counsels; why in the one case He sent warnings, yet allowed the plot to be completed; in the other He sent none, but Himself destroyed it; He seemed to “ take His rest, and to consider in His dwelling-place, like a clear heat upon herbs, like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest,” [as it were, Himself maturing and bringing about their devices,] “ but afore the harvest, when the bud was perfect, and the flower become the ripening grape, He cut off the sprigs—and took away, and cut down the branches<sup>b</sup> :” but this we must see, that those who were delivered (though not for their own merits) were passive, and that it was all God’s hand; while the foreign Protestants, who perished, were an active, busy, scheming body, with worldly wisdom; and again we must with thankfulness acknowledge that it was the English Church whom God so preserved.

mitted, but avenged. His mother survived all her children but one, who was slain shortly afterwards, and she who had “ made mothers childless,” was “ childless among women,” her family extinct.

<sup>a</sup> Ps. lxxvii. 19, 20.

<sup>b</sup> Is. xviii. 4, 5.



Yet even our much-distinguished and blessed Church has not been secure, when she forgot wherein “her great strength lay.” In Ireland, for a time, she mingled her counsels with those of a different reformation<sup>a</sup>, joined in turbulent proceedings against her earthly sovereign, and sunk her peculiar character in the cabals of earthly politics. Towards her Romanist fellow-subjects she preserved gentleness and peace, and they had been remarkably favoured<sup>b</sup>. Yet “God brought fire out of the house of Abimelech to devour the men of Shechem;” her evil towards Charles He requited upon her own head from those whom she trusted, and among whom she dwelt securely, In this case, again, all things human combined to discover the plot, and in human sight its concealment seemed inexplicable<sup>c</sup>;

<sup>a</sup> “The British Protestants, transplanted in Ireland, having every moment before their eyes all the horrors of popery, had naturally been carried into the opposite extreme, and had *universally* adopted the highest principles and practices of the puritans. Monarchy, as well as the hierarchy, was become odious to them; and every method of limiting the authority of the crown, and detaching themselves from the king of England, was greedily adopted and pursued.” Hume, Hist. c. 55, who proceeds to mention some of their measures against their king.

<sup>b</sup> Sir J. Temple (an Irish Privy-Councillor), Irish Rebellion, p. 14, 15, 81. Declaration of Commons concerning the rise of the Grand Rebellion in Ireland, July 25, 1643, ap. Rushworth, p. iii. vol. ii. p. 346. Hume l. c. Lord Orrery ap. Nalson, Impartial Collection, vol. ii. p. 535.

<sup>c</sup> “First, I must needs say, howsoever I have observed in the nature of the Irish such a kind of dull and deep reservedness, as makes them with much silence and secresie to carry on their business: yet I cannot but consider with great admiration how this mischievous plot, which was to be so generally at the



but again all the hints were neglected<sup>d</sup>; the plot had been from six to eight years in preparation<sup>e</sup>; it was well known in England, Spain, and other foreign countries<sup>f</sup>; intimations were given to the king, and by him communicated<sup>g</sup>, but neglected by those whose lives were threatened; revealed at last by one of the religion which was to be extirpated, but only when too late<sup>h</sup>; the means of its execution were put into men's hands by those professedly most hostile to them<sup>i</sup>; and a massacre,

same time, and at so many several places acted, and therefore necessarily known to so many several persons, should without any noise be brought to such maturity, as to arrive at the very point of execution, without any notice or intimation given to any two of that huge multitude of persons who were generally designed (as most of them did) to perish in it." Temple, p. 16, 17. The Long Parliament, to exculpate itself, and as a pretext for their rebellion, dared to ascribe the plot to our martyred Charles; but their statement of the utter unlikelihood of the plot in itself is illustrative. See Declaration of the Commons, ap. Rushworth, l. c. v. fin. See also Letter of Irish Council, ap. Nalson, p. 516.

<sup>d</sup> Temple, p. 17. Nalson, ii. p. 519.

<sup>e</sup> Temple, p. 67.

<sup>f</sup> Testimony of the Popish priests named in Temple, p. 67.

<sup>g</sup> By his Embassadors in Spain; see Rushworth, p. [408.] Nalson, ii. p. 565.

<sup>h</sup> Temple, p. 18 sqq.

<sup>i</sup> The 8,000 men of the army raised by Strafford, which the Long Parliament detained and turned loose upon Ireland. Hume l. c. The Roman Catholic members joined in preventing their being sent abroad, as the king wished, on the plea that they might become disaffected, if they served with the Spaniards. Nalson, ii. 565. It is mentioned in Lord Macguire's account as one of the encouragements to the rebellion. Ib. 544. Hume names also as a ground, that "the Catholics assisted by the Protestants, had so diminished the royal prerogative, and

more horrible perhaps in its details of cruelty<sup>k</sup> than any other upon record, fell unabated upon this portion of our Church ; for “ their Rock had sold them, and the Lord had shut them up<sup>l</sup>.”

And now we may perhaps the more readily learn our lesson from that other event, which has been included in this day’s thanksgiving, the arrival on this day of him who became William III. Man’s sin is no hindrance to thankfulness for God’s mercy ; rather, the more we sinned, the more should we be thankful to God for not giving us over to our sins, for making that, as it now is<sup>m</sup>, at last legitimate to us and our duty, which in our forefathers was sin, yea, and for the chastisements with which He has visited our sins. The arrival of William was in itself, on God’s part, a blessing ; it was not, we may trust, on that of the Prince, a guilty act ; at all events we may separate the mercy of God from the sin of man ; it prevented further acts of tyranny on the part of James ; it probably saved the nation from the miseries of

the power of the lieutenant, as would much facilitate any conspiracy.”

<sup>k</sup> “ By the computation of the priests themselves that were present, and principal actors in all those tragedies, and were directed by some chief rebels of Ireland to take this computation, 154,000 Protestants, men, women, and children, were massacred between Oct. 23, and March 1.” Declaration of Commons, l. c. The atrocious details are given at length by Sir J. Temple, p. 84 sqq. as attested upon oath. He computes the whole number destroyed at 300,000, men, women, and children. P. 6.

<sup>l</sup> Deut. xxxii. 30.

<sup>m</sup> See Preface, p. vi sqq.

anarchy and civil war, which but for his arrival, had men pursued the same course, might have followed, and in this the Church and nation might have been grievously injured ; and for this and for the preservation of our Church amid this convulsion, we have great cause of thankfulness. Further, it seems that their sin was not wilful, that they no more foresaw that they should end in dethroning the son<sup>m</sup>, than Cromwell thought at first of murdering the father ; it may be too that our forefathers in a degree deceived themselves, and persuaded themselves, that because they did not *formally* dethrone their sovereign, they were not guilty of rebellion ; and it may be also that God, in His mercy, may have accepted this their shame, whereby they shrunk from their own act, and so mitigated His judgments : but it were in us but hypocrisy to use these pleas, and justify the action of our forefathers ; to say, that when a sovereign retreats from his kingdom before an advancing foreign army, his servants arrested, and his guards displaced, he is other than deposed ; that they who join herein are not guilty of rebellion ; and that they who in a self-called convention made the prince

<sup>m</sup> The decision to appoint a king rather than a regent was carried only by *two* votes in the House of Lords ; and that, in the absence of those, who (as the Primate) held the whole meeting illegal. The revolution was obviously accomplished finally, by the refusal of William to accept of any thing short of the Crown, and the dread of consequent anarchy : *i. e.* they adopted a measure, which they would gladly have avoided, but which their first wrong steps forced upon them.

of Orange king, did not act against their allegiance to the sovereign, to whom they had plighted their faith. The misconduct of one justifies not the sin of another; David, though of God anointed, lifted not his hand against him, who had been once anointed by God, though now his princely spirit was taken from him, and “an evil spirit from the Lord came upon him<sup>n</sup> ;” and so, while we thank God, we should humble ourselves, and pray Him, not to remember our sins, or the sins of our forefathers.

It is not without an apparent Providence that these two events are so brought together upon the same day; the one, in which, without his own merit, man was passive, and God delivered him from extremest peril; in the other, where, had men like our Bishops and a Confessor of this place<sup>o</sup>, remained passive under the shadow of God’s wings, the tyranny had passed over, man interposed schemes of his own; they did that, which their Lord upon the cross was taunted to do, but did not,—<sup>p</sup> they “saved themselves;” and so they were permitted to mar the good purpose of God. I say, “mar;” for though God has been abundant in mercy, no one can have traced the state of our Church and nation, since that second rebellion, without seeing God’s judg-

<sup>n</sup> 1 Sam. xvi. 14 sqq.

<sup>o</sup> Hough, President of Magdalen College.

<sup>p</sup> “What did He teach thee, in that He hung there, in that He would not come down, but endurance amidst taunts, but that thou shouldest be strong in Thy God.” S. Aug. Enarr. in Ps. lxx. Serm. i. §. 11.



ments, though tempered with mercy. Let any one ask when was the golden age of our Divines? All will say, the reign of Charles II., when their passive virtues had been called out, and they exercised by suffering. The last century every one as readily condemns as the dearest and shallowest period of English theology, and of the English Church. And this could be traced (were this the place) to the line which men took in resisting James's evil. The State feared and hated the Church, which it causelessly suspected; it could not understand that men might on principle object to the act which set the Sovereign on the throne, and yet upon principle obey, yea teach others cheerfully to obey, the Sovereign whom God had permitted to be so placed. It ejected a valuable portion of her members, the Nonjurors; divided, and so weakened her; cut off from her one element of teaching; gave her Bishops for secular ends<sup>q</sup>, and profaned her offices to strengthen secular parties; wilfully corrupted her, and stirred up enemies against her and our Holy Faith<sup>r</sup>. As clearly could it be shewn that the present storm, which lowers around our Church and State, is but a drawing out of the principles of what men have dared to call the "glorious revolution;" as that revolution (though in this

<sup>q</sup> On the gradual usurpations of the Ministers of the Crown in the disposal of the higher offices of the Church, see a series of papers in the British Magazine, beginning from Feb. 1837.

<sup>r</sup> See "Remarks on the benefits of Cathedral Institutions, and on Clerical Education," p. 124—128. ed. 2.



portion of our country, but still in this only, by God's mercy without bloodshed, as indeed, besides His other mercies, He generally restrains men in a second revolution, by an implanted instinct, from renewing the miseries of the first) was the sequel<sup>a</sup> and result of the first rebellion. The name given to the act of 1668 is no question of words; the very service of this day evinces the feeling even of such as could take the oath of allegiance to William, that it is not indifferent to God, how we look back upon His dealings with our forefathers: if we would not be partakers with other men's sins, we must disavow them; while we boast of them, we make ourselves sharers in them; if we would cut off the curse entailed by the fathers upon the children<sup>t</sup>, we must disclaim the act which has entailed it; we should thankfully acknowledge God's "undeserved mercies," not glory in our fathers' sins, so may He exempt us from the impending chastisement.

Not so our Church, who in her most solemn service, acknowledges unto God, that kings "have His authority," that they "are His ministers." Even the service of the day, as far as it may in any degree, since she acquiesced in its adoption, be regarded as her voice, speaks of "the wisdom and justice of God's Providence," and we acknowledge it to be

<sup>a</sup> The lax principles, which had gained ground through the first rebellion, are strongly noticed, in the interval before 1688, in the writings already referred to, by Bp. Sanderson (especially §. xix.) and Dean Sherlock.

<sup>t</sup> See Bp. Taylor's Sermon, "The Entailed Curse cut off."

such that James's evil fell upon his own head, that all his unrighteous acts hurt himself; but she speaks not of our glory, but of "God's great and undeserved goodness." And again, the Homily on Rebellion seems by its very words prophetically to have denounced the measure wherein men now glory. "Had Englishmen," these are its words<sup>u</sup>, "at that time known their duty to their prince set forth in God's word, would natural subjects have rebelled against their sovereign lord the king? Would English subjects have taken part against the king of England and Englishmen with the French [one need but change the nation] king and Frenchmen? Would they have sent for and received the Dauphin of France with a great army of Frenchmen into the realm of England? Would they have sworn fidelity to the Dauphin of France, breaking their oath of fidelity to their natural lord the king of England, and have stood under the Dauphin's banner displayed against the king of England? Would they have expelled their sovereign lord the king of England out of London, the chief city of England?" The parallel ceases; if the Homily condemned the hard terms placed upon king John, much more would it the refusal of all terms to king James. The excuse that James was a bad king, in the sentiments of the Homily, but throws back the sin

<sup>u</sup> Homily against Wilful Rebellion, pt. vi. p. 545. ed. Oxf. 1822. A Rubric for this day enjoins, that "if there be no Sermon, one of the six Homilies against Rebellion shall be read."

higher. " Shall subjects," it says<sup>x</sup>, " obey valiant, stout, wise, and good princes, and contemn, disobey, and rebel—against indiscreet and evil governors? God forbid!—shall the subjects both by their wickedness provoke God, for their deserved punishment, to give them an indiscreet or evil prince, and also rebel against him and withal against God, who for the punishment of their sins did give them such a prince?"—And then it lays up, as it were, for future use, the remedy I have now been insisting on. " If we will have an evil prince (when God shall send such a one) taken away, and a good in his place, let us take away our wickedness, which provoketh God to place such a one over us, and God will either displace him, or of an evil prince make him a good prince, so that we first will change our evil into good—Else for subjects to deserve through their sins to have an evil prince and then to rebel against him, were double and treble evil, by provoking God more to plague them. Nay let us either deserve to have a good prince, or let us patiently suffer and obey such as we deserve." The Homily seems prophetically to have traced the line, on which we ought to have trodden, the blessings which promised to follow it, and the evils which ensued from forsaking it. And for the pretence of religion, as the Romish alone hitherto had been upheld by such means, it says<sup>z</sup>, " what a religion

<sup>x</sup> Homily against Wilful Rebellion, pt. i. p. 511, 2.

<sup>y</sup> Ib. p. 512, 3.

<sup>z</sup> Ib. pt. iv. p. 534, 5.

it is, that such men by such means would restore, may easily be judged; even as good a religion surely, as rebels be good men and obedient subjects, and as rebellion is a good mean of redress and reformation, being itself the greatest deformation<sup>a</sup> of all that may possibly be.”

Not so, again, the early Church; they resisted not evil; the whole city of Alexandria petitioned Julian to retain their Bishop, the saintly Athanasius, but rebelled not; the Christians of Gaul invited not the Barbarians to interfere and save them; the Christians held the balance of the Empire in their hands, yet even then took the fiercest of the ten persecutions patiently; the Christians of Persia implored not the Christian Emperors of Rome to interfere with armed force against those into whose hands God had given them to try them; “they were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might

<sup>a</sup> Montaigne has a passage remarkably according with the language and sentiments of the Homilies, *Essais*, l. iii. c. 12. After denying that there could be any evil in a government, which should be cured by a drug so deadly, he says, “*What impiety is it, not to look for, from God, any aid simply His, and without our cooperation.* I often marvel, whether among so many, who trouble themselves with these necessities of the State, there was ever one, of intellect so weak, as to be in good earnest persuaded, that he was promoting a *reformation* by the worst of *deformations*; that he was advancing towards his own salvation, by the most direct causes which we have of a most certain damnation, that overthrowing the state, magistracy, and the laws, under the guardianship of which God has placed him—he can render any aid to the all-holy tenderness and justice of the Divine Law.”



attain a better resurrection," and so in God's good time, the giant statue crumbled in its very base, and the stone cut out without hands "filled the earth."

Not so, lastly, holy Scripture, which that Church well understood. If slaves were to obey "froward masters," much more, argues our Homily<sup>b</sup>, ought subjects "sharp and rigorous princes." Scripture bids us obey princes "not only for wrath but for conscience sake;" it knows not our subtle distinctions of "social compact<sup>c</sup>;" it bids us peremptorily

<sup>b</sup> l. c. pt. i. p. 509.

<sup>c</sup> This is, in these days, assumed as an axiom, as men's wont is, when they give themselves little pains to understand their own principles: the strong contrary statements of Bishop Sanderson may cause some to re-consider their views. "As for those in the next place that would derive the original of all Government from the People by way of pact or contract: it may suffice to say, that they take that for granted which never yet was proved, nor (I dare say) will ever be proved while the world standeth, either from Scripture, Reason, or History. Jus gladii, the right and power of the sword (which is really the Sovereign Power) belongeth, we know, to kings, but it is by the ordinance of God, not the donation of the people: for he that beareth the sword (St. Paul telleth us) as God's minister, from Whom he received it; and not as the people's minister, who had no right to give it because they never had it themselves. If any shall say they had, the proof lieth on their part, to shew how they came by it; whether God gave it them, or they took it themselves. If God gave it them, let it be made appear when and where the first grant was made; let some evidence be produced to justify the claim, or at least some credible testimony, or frequent presumption to render it probable that there was some such thing done, though the records be lost. If none of all this can be done, it remaineth, that if they had it, they



obey kings, and what kings<sup>d</sup>? what compact, not with their subjects, but with human nature itself, had not Caligula and Claudius and Nero broken? and it may be God gave the Roman Empire such prodigies of wickedness then, that Christians might have no excuse to rebel. No one can doubt but that S. Paul would have taken his lot with our outcast Bishops; and if this be so obvious that one dare scarcely put the case from this place, how dare we call that “glorious” which he would have condemned? Had it been glorious, “to God’s name should have been the praise, for His mercy and truth’s sake;” but now since it was men’s act, they take to themselves the glory, when all was God’s “undeserved mercy,” and glory in their shame. Rather let us take to ourselves the shame, and give to God the glory, for not having “dealt with us after our sins, nor rewarded us according to our iniquities;” let us thank Him for His “great and undeserved mercies.”

took it. And if they so did, it was saucily and sacrilegiously done at the first; and by our Saviour’s presage, (Matt. xxvi. 52.) like enough to prosper with them accordingly at the last.” Bishop Sanderson’s preface to Archbishop Usher’s *Power of the Prince*, sec. 15. After which he proceeds to expose several of the difficulties involved in the assumption.

<sup>d</sup> “This (1 Tim. ii. 1, &c.) is S. Paul’s counsel. And who, I pray you, was prince over the most part of Christians when God’s Holy Spirit by S. Paul’s pen gave them this lesson? Forsooth Caligula, Claudius, or Nero; who were not only no Christians but pagans, and also either foolish rulers, or most cruel tyrants.” *Homilies*, ib. p. i. p. 513.

If ever these lessons were of moment, they seem likely to be so now, and we have reason to thank God for His Providence in so connecting the events of these two days, that their commemoration should be a yearly warning to us, in a way which they who appointed the latter festival<sup>e</sup> thought not of. What times are coming upon the earth, we know not, but the general expectation of persons of all characters in all nations is an instinct implanted by God to warn us of a coming storm. Not one nation only, but all; not one class of thinkers, but all; they who fear and they who hope, and who fear and hope things opposite; they who are immersed in their worldly schemes, and they who look for some “coming of God’s kingdom;” they who watch this world’s signs and they who watch for the next, alike have their eyes intently fixed on somewhat which is coming, though whether it be the vials of His wrath, or the glories of His kingdom, or whether the one shall be the herald to the other, none can tell. They who can calculate what is likely, speak of it; they who cannot, *feel* its coming; the spirits of the unseen world seem to be approaching to us, and “awe comes on us, and trembling, which maketh all the bones to shake<sup>f</sup>,” “all nations

<sup>e</sup> It was appointed not by, but rather against, the Church, and used as an instrument of oppression to her, a snare to the consciences of her ministers, and a political test against men who would have yielded a peaceable obedience.

<sup>f</sup> Job iv. 14, 15.

are shaken <sup>g</sup>;" the sound, which for these many years has been heard and spoken of from this place <sup>h</sup>, has been waxing louder and louder, and spreading wider: there is "upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming upon the earth<sup>1</sup>." Times of trouble there have been before; but such a time in which every thing every where tends in one direction, to one mighty struggle of one sort, of faith with infidelity, lawlessness with rule, Christ with Antichrist, there seems never to have been till now. The ancient images of Antichrist are growing old, and decaying; and a more fearful Antichristian power, that of popular lawlessness, which maketh its will its God, and will own neither God nor man but its own rule, seems to be held in, not by the weak threads of human rule, which it would snap "as flax burnt by the fire," but by the Almighty power of God, discovering His might in human weak-

<sup>g</sup> Haggai ii. 7.

<sup>h</sup> The writer recollects in younger years, how, before any overt public act had taken place, such as must force upon men's minds the expectation of further changes, persons were, in this place, warned that evil times were coming, that the clouds were gathering, that there was a diseased tone in the public feeling, a distempered appetite; and these warnings became the more impressive, as they came from persons of different character, and who had derived their impressions from different sources. Now we are become accustomed to our evils, and what then was regarded by sound judges as a symptom of disease, is now regarded as a common thing.

<sup>1</sup> Luke xxi. 25, 26.

ness. These are "fig-tree signs," whether "our redemption" indeed "draweth nigh," and this long warfare of this world be at last almost accomplished, or whether it shall be but some fuller image of that long longed-for coming, which shall be revealed, we cannot tell; enough for us that we have signs that God is more than heretofore visiting the earth, and that Satan more than heretofore is let loose upon it; that persons must and are taking their sides more decisively with Christ or with Belial.

Whether then this fearful conflict burst in our days, or when we are withdrawn, let those who live to share it, or any portion of it, recollect that our strength is to "fear not, stand still, and wait for the salvation of God." God hath shewn great mercies to our Church, as on this day, and those greater than to any other nation; trust we Him. Even now He seems, contrary to His dealings with all other nations, to have checked the waywardness of our course, and though we had done things displeasing in His sight, to be restoring us from the feverish sickness, wherein we had fallen, and bid us "go our way, and sin no more, lest a worse thing happen unto us." It is our duty indeed, as they did of old, to warn men of the great sin and danger of sacrilege, or apostasy, or interfering with the Church of God, or polluting her offices, or indifference and promoting error, lest we be guilty of the blood of others, if we warn them not; and in all lawful ways permitted to us, we are bound



to extend truth, diffuse right principles, as well as adorn them in our lives; but this done, recollect we, that our armour is not like that of the Romish Church, “the wisdom of this world, which shall come to nought,” earthly activity and worldly schemes, but humiliation, acknowledgment of our past sins, prayers, fasting, watching, endurance, submission to men, and patient tarrying for God. Let the Church use these, use the Psalms and the prayers put into her hands and her mouth, use them not as forms but as realities, realize to herself that a great contest is going on between the dragon and the woman in the wilderness, and that prayers are the arms of the saints; feel that the welfare of each, his spiritual privileges, are bound up in the welfare of the whole Church, but that, besides, he ought to love the whole for herself, as the spouse and body of Christ: recollect that “the hearts of kings are in His rule and governance,” and that He “stilleth the madness of the people;” pray, as our Church with the antient Church does, twice each day, “for the whole world, for kings and all that are in authority”—and they who seem to be hurrying on things with rapidity so fearful, will be found but to be bound around the wheels of God’s Providence, not leading events but dragged along by them, to accomplish by their self- or free-will “whatsoever His hand and His counsel determined before to be done<sup>k</sup>.” “Surely the wrath of man shall praise Thee; the remainder

<sup>k</sup> Acts iv. 28.



of wrath shalt Thou restrain." God warneth us by the very swiftness with which all things are moving around us, that it is He who is impelling them ; man cannot impart such speed, nor rouse the winds from the four quarters of the heavens, nor bring men's varying wills towards one uniform result ; and therewith He warns us to beware how we attempt to guide, what He thus manifestly is governing. As the trial of our faith is increased by the greatness of the interests at stake, so is it lightened by God's more visible Presence, which would awe us into confidence and quiet. The "Egyptians are behind" us, but the "pillar of the cloud" is between us and them. He will "remove the chariot wheels" of the enemy, though they drive on never so furiously. Those things only can be marred, which we ourselves mar. He would have us do our plain duty quietly, suffer evil, if needs be, patiently, and then await the end, placing our confidence not in our own strength, nor in the wisdom or numbers of any secular party, but in Him.

And let the young especially remember, that it is not by giving vent to their feelings, but by restraining them ; not by blaming others, (in doing which they could scarcely avoid sin,) but by schooling themselves ; by meekness, by self-command, by quietness, by peaceableness, by disciplining themselves, and by acting under discipline, by submitting to authority, even when they see not presently the reason, by acting, in their petty

occasions, on faith, that they may best prepare themselves for whatever duties, in the great army of their God, it may please Him hereafter to call them to.

In brief, then, we may not be over-anxious even about holy things, such as the deliverance of the Church from unjust thralldom or from spiritual disadvantages. God allowed His chosen people to lie in bondage 400 years, and not till the set time was come, did He judge that power which enthralled them ; and when afterwards He delivered them for their sins to Nebuchadnezzar, “ they were to seek the peace of the city whither He had caused them to be carried captive, and after 70 years to be visited .” They “ stood still” till Cyrus came, they invited him not, helped him not, but he acknowledged that “ their God, the King of heaven, had given him all the kingdoms of the earth, and had given him in charge to build His temple at Jerusalem<sup>m</sup>.” God is visibly working, and preparing the army, which “ shall be willing in the day of His power<sup>n</sup> ;” but it is His day, His army, His power, and He must “ give the word<sup>o</sup>.” As of old the feet of the image were crumbling, the world was growing old, institutions were dissolving, but the people of God might not put a finger thereto, but “ a stone cut out of the mountain *without hands* smote it, and brake it in pieces ;” so must it be now : whether it

<sup>l</sup> Jerem. xxix. 7, 10.

<sup>m</sup> Ezra i. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Ps. cx. 3.

<sup>o</sup> Ps. lxxviii. 11.

please God to breathe fresh life into the old institutions of the world, or whether “ He take away their breath, and they return to their dust,” it must be His doing, not man’s; what God doth, that is well done; we might mingle “ hay, straw, and stubble” with His work, which in the day of trial will not abide. “ O tarry thou the Lord’s leisure; be strong, and He shall comfort thy heart<sup>p</sup> :” “ though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not tarry<sup>q</sup>.” “ O Lord God of hosts, blessed is the man that putteth his trust in Thee<sup>r</sup> !”

<sup>p</sup> Ps. xxvii. 16.

<sup>q</sup> Hab. ii. 3.

<sup>r</sup> Ps. lxxxiv. 13.

O Lord, we beseech Thee to keep Thy Church and household continually in Thy true religion; that they who do lean only upon the hope of Thy heavenly grace, may evermore be defended by Thy mighty power; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> Collect for the Fifth Sunday after Epiphany.

THE END.

